

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, CY, UN, TU

SUBJECT: SECOND MAKARIOS-DENKTASH MEETING--PRESS CONFERENCES

1. SUMMARY: MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH HELD THEIR SECOND MEETING, AND THEIR FIRST UNDER UNSYG WALDHEIM, FEB 12. MEETING LASTED FOUR HOURS. IN AGREED COMMUNIQUE FOLLOWING MEETING IT WAS ANNOUNCED THAT UNDERSTANDING HAD BEEN REACHED FOR UNCLASSIFIED

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RESUMPTION OF FULL-SCALE INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA LATE IN MARCH. ON FEB 13, WALDHEIM, MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH HELD SUCCESSIVE PRESS CONFERENCES OF WHICH HIGHLIGHTS, AS DRAWN FROM NOTES TAKEN BY EMBOFFS ATTENDING, ARE GIVEN BELOW. PUBLISHED TEXTS WILL BE TRANSMITED AS SOON AS AVAILABLE.

WALDHEIM PRAISED EFFORTS OF TWO SIDES AND DESCRIBED OUTLINES OF NEW INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATING PROCESS TO RESUME IN VIENNA IN MARCH. MAKARIOS EXPRESSING INCREASED OPTIMISM, DESCRIBED CONSTITUTIONAL AGREEMENT AND NEW CRITERIA FOR DISCUSSION OF TERRITORY. DENKTASH TERMED MEETING "CONSTRUCTIVE," NOTED THAT THERE HAD BEEN "CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT" IN RIGHT DIRECTION ON PART OF GREEKS, AND FOR SECOND TIME IN THREE DAYS CRITICIZED US INVOLVEMENT (SPECIFICALLY THE CLIFFORD MISSION) IN CYPRUS PROBLEM. COMMENT: FOLLOWING THEIR FIRST MEETING JAN 27 UNDER DE CUELLAR, AND SECOND FEB 12 UNDER WALDHEIM, THE MAKARIOS-DENKTASH STIMULOUS SEEMS TO HAVE GIVEN AT LEAST A SEMBLANCE OF NEW LIFE TO THE PROTRACTED AND PREVIOUSLY STALEMATED INTERCOMMUNAL NEGOTIATIONS. END COMMEN END SUMMARY

2. TEXT OF COMMUNIQUE AS FOLLOWS QUOTE DURING OUR TALKS, WHICH LASTED FOR FOUR HOURS, INSTRUCTIONS HAVE BEEN WORKED OUT FOR THE REPRESENTATIVES IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS AS THE BASIS FOR FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. IT HAS ALSO BEEN AGREED TO RECONVENE THE CYPRUS TALKS IN VIENNA UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL AT THE END OF MARCH. UNQUOTE

3. DURING PRESS CONFERENCE AT NICOSIA INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT BEFORE HIS MORNING DEPARTURE FEB 13, WALDHEIM PRAISED A "VERY FRANK", SOMETIMES TOUGH EXCHANGE OF VIEWS" WHICH HAD CONVINCED HIM THAT BOTH PARTIES NOW WANT TO SOLVE THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND THAT THEY ARE READY TO DISCUSS SUBSTANCE SERIOUSLY. UNCLASSIFIED

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HE CITED AGREEMENT REACHED BY MAKARIOS AND DENKTASH TO PROVIDE THEIR NEGOTIATIONS WITH WRITTEN GUIDELINES FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS IN VIENNA AT THE END OF MARCH INITIALLY IN THE PRESENCE OF WALDHEIM BUT DEVOLVING TO SYG SPEC REP DE CUELLAR. NO TIME LIMIT WAS SET ON THE TALKS. ASKED TO COMMENT ON POSSIBLE U.S. INITIATIVE, WALDHEIM WELCOMED ANY HELP FROM ANY SIDE.

4. FOLLOWING JOINT MEETING WITH NATIONAL COUNCIL AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS MORNING OF FEB 13, ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS HELD PRESS CONFERENCE ATTENDED BY GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT AND FOREIGN JOURNALISTS. IN CONFERENCE, WHICH BEGAN AT 1245 AND LASTED APPROXIMATELY HALF AN HOUR, ARCHBISHOP CONFIRMED SUBSTANCE OF WALDHEIM'S EARLIER PRESS CONFERENCE ON FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS AND MADE A NUMBER OF OTHER POTENTIALLY IMPORTANT POINTS: (A) CONSTITUTION - ARCHBISHOP STATED THAT AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED ON A FEDERAL, UNITARY, NON-ALIGNED, INDEPENDENT,

BICOMMUNAL STATE WITH A CENTRAL GOVERNMENT WHICH SHOULD
HAVE SUFFICIENT POWER TO INSURE UNITY "KEEPING IN MIND
BICOMMUNAL NATURE OF STATE."

(B) TERRITORY - POPULATION RATIO OF TWO COMMUNITIES WAS
NOT RAISED AS CRITERION FOR DETERMINING TURKISH AND GREEK
AREA. INSTEAD PERCENTAGE OF LAND ACTUALLY OWNED BY
MEMBERS OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES AND THE PRODUCTIVITY OF
THE LAND, INCLUDING TOURISM, ARE THE CRITERIA UNDER WHICH
QUESTIONS OF TERRITORY WILL BE DISCUSSED. ARCHBISHOP
SAID HE HAD SOME DATA ON LAND OWNERSHIP WHICH HE DID
NOT WISH TO GIVE OUT NOW BUT COMMENTED THAT OWNERSHIP SHOULD
BE EASY TO ASCERTAIN AS THERE HAD BEEN ONLY INSIGNIFICANT
CHANGES SINCE (LAST OFFICIAL BRITISH COLONIAL CENSUS IN) 1934.
TERRITORY OF BRITISH CBAS WAS NOT TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.

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(C) REFUGEES - FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, SETTLEMENT, AND PROPERTY WERE NOT AGREED ON. QUESTIONED CLOSELY ABOUT RETURN OF ALL REFUGEES, ARCHBISHOP REPEATED THAT IT FALLS WITHIN FREEDOM OF SETTLEMENT PRINCIPLE BUT OBSERVED TURK CYPRIOTS BELIEVE THAT IF ALL REFUGEES GO BACK THEY MAY ENDANGER CONCEPT OF FEDERALISM AND THEREFORE THIS SUBJECT WILL HAVE TO BE FURTHER DISCUSSED.

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(D) CLIFFORD MISSION - MAKARIOS WELCOMED NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION'S "KEEN INTEREST" IN CYPRUS QUESTION BUT DID NOT BELIEVE CLIFFORD MISSION WOULD SEEK TO BRIDGE THE GAP BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES. ARCHBISHOP WOULD NOT, HOWEVER, EXCLUDE POSSIBILITY AT SOME FUTURE STAGE OF USG TAKING INITIATIVE TO BRIDGE DIFFERENCES.

(E) ATTITUDES - REFUSING TO SPECULATE ON TURKISH MOTIVES, ARCHBISHOP ACKNOWLEDGED THAT HE NOW FEELS TURKISH SIDE WANTS A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM AND DESCRIBED THE TWO MEETINGS AS "SUBSTANTIVE" AS A RESULT OF WHICH "I AM MORE OPTIMISTIC, HAVE MORE HOPES THAN SOME TIME AGO."

(F) PROCEDURE: IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, ARCHBISHOP SAID VIENNA MEETINGS BETWEEN THE NEGOTIATORS COULD BE PROLONGED, BUT THEY COULD NOT INCLUDE "EXPERTS". SUBCOMMITTEES ON CONSTITUTION AND TERRITORY, INCLUDING EXPERTS, SHOULD THEREAFTER MEET IN NICOSIA. WHILE HE DID EXPECT A FURTHER MEETING WITH DENKTASH BEFORE NEGOTIATIONS CONVENED IN VIENNA, HE DID NOT PRECLUDE SUCH A MEETING AND EXPECTED THAT WHENEVER THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS FALTERED, THE TWO PRINCIPALS COULD MEET TO FRAME NEW, STIMULATIVE INSTRUCTIONS.

5. MEETING WITH FOREIGN, GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOT JOURNALISTS IN TURKISH NICOSIA AT AFTERNOON PRESS CONFERENCE FEB 13, DENKTASH TERMED HIS SECOND CONTACT WITH ARCHBISHOP A "GOOD ENDEAVOR AND A CONSTRUCTIVE STEP"; SAID "THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT ON THE GREEK SIDE IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION"; AFFIRMED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE IS "READY TO BARGAIN REASONABLY FOR A REASONABLE SOLUTION"; AND EXPECTED NEGOTIATIONS TO TAKE FROM 12 TO 18 MONTHS. IN A FRIENDLY, CONFIDENT, FIRM BUT REASONABLE MOOD, DENKTASH SAID THAT WRITTEN INSTRUCTIONS HAD BEEN DRAWN UP FOR NEGOTIATORS WITHIN

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FRAMEWORK OF AN "INDEPENDENT, NON-ALIGNED, BICOMMUNAL, FEDERAL REPUBLIC." NEGOTIATORS WOULD MEET IN VIENNA WITH SYG WALDHEIM NEXT MONTH AND SOMEWHAT LATER NEGOTIATIONS WOULD CONTINUE ON A SUSTAINED BASIS IN NICOSIA. WE HAVE ALL AGREED, DENKTASH SAID, THAT WHENEVER NECESSARY, WALDHEIM WILL INVITE US (DENKTASH AND MAKARIOS) TO MEET EITHER IN A EUROPEAN CAPITAL OR IN NICOSIA TO HELP OVERCOME DIFFICULTIES AND ENABLE LEADERS TO GIVE NEW DIRECTIVES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE NEGOTIATORS.

6. HIGHLIGHTS OF DENKTASH'S COMMENTS ON SPECIFIC ISSUES FOLLOW (WE REPORT THESE IN MORE DETAIL THAN WALDHEIM/MAKARIOS BECAUSE FEB 14 IS "TFSC" HOLIDAY WHICH WILL DELAY DENKTASH TEXT):
(A) CLIFFORD MISSION: ASKED IF US COULD AT SOME POINT PLAY USEFUL ROLE IN BRIDGING DIFFERENCES, PARTICULARLY ON TERRITORY, DENKTASH SAID HE RECOGNIZED NO SUCH RIGHT FOR ANY PERSON OR COUNTRY. FOR BRIDGING DIFFERENCES AND PLAYING A GOOD OFFICES ROLE, WE HAVE ACCEPTED SYG WALDHEIM, WHO HAS PROVED "USEFUL". ON OTHER HAND, ANYONE WHO COMES ON A FACT-FINDING MISSION LIKE CLIFFORD IS WELCOME. WE WANT TO HELP HIM MAKE AN ASSESSMENT AND "WE HOPE HIS REPORT WILL BE THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONTINUING, THAT AMERICA SHOULD NOT BE INVOLVED, AND THAT AMERICA SHOULD NOT TAKE ON THE ROLE OF MEDIATOR OR RECIPE-MAKER." AMERICA SHOULD NOT RUSH IN, HE STRESSED, SINCE A GREEK LOBBYIST COLOR HAS BEEN PUT ON ALL US POLICY. LOBBY'S INFLUENCE IS EXAGGERATED, BUT IT IS THERE AND IT IS UNACCEPTABLE TO THE TURKISH SIDE. SUBSEQUENTLY SOFTENING HIS POSITION, DENKTASH SAID HE DID NOT REJECT OUTSIDE HELP IF BOTH SIDES FELT IT NECESSARY. HOWEVER, HE DID STRONGLY REJECT ATTEMPTS TO IMPOSE "RECIPES" AND REPORTED THAT HE WAS "UPSET" OVER US INVOLVEMENT.

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(B) BIZONALITY: GREEKS MAY RAISE QUESTION OF MULTI-REGIONAL SOLUTION. WE WANT THEM TO KNOW, HOWEVER, THAT BIZONAL CHARACTER OF FEDERAL STATE HAS ALREADY BEEN ESTABLISHED AND THAT BIZONALITY IS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

(C) TERRITORY: TURKISH LAND OWNERSHIP IS 32.8 PERCENT, BUT OTHER CRITERIA SUCH AS ECONOMIC VIABILITY, PRODUCTIVITY, AND SECURITY MUST ALSO BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION.
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DIFFERENCE IS GREAT BUT CRITERIA OF HOW TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED. WHAT IS NEEDED NOW IS "MECHANICAL WORK, IMAGINATIVE WORK." ASKED ABOUT DIFFERING VIEWS ON LAND OWNERSHIP FIGURES, DENKTASH SAID THAT NATURALLY AFTER 11 YEARS OF SEPARATION, THERE WOULD BE DIFFERENCES. THESE WILL BE DISCUSSED AND OUR FIGURE OF 32.8 PERCENT "SEEMS" TO BE NEGOTIABLE. DENKTASH ALSO HINTED THAT RELINQUISHMENT OF TURKISH CLAIM TO ONE SBA "WHEN BRITISH LEAVE" MIGHT BE PART OF A TERRITORIAL AGREEMENT.

(D) CENTRAL GOVERNMENT: GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE "ESSENTIAL POWERS." GREEKS WILL WANT MORE POWERS FOR CENTRAL GOVERNMENT, WE LESS. WE WILL DISCUSS IT AND SEE WHAT COMES OUT. MAIN THING WILL BE SECURITY, NOT GOING BACK TO PREVIOUS SITUATION, AND PREVENTING FUTURE GREEK DOMINATION OF TURKISH COMMUNITY. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

WILL BE SECULAR, THOUGH GREEKS OF COURSE WILL BE FREE
TO CONTINUE ROLE OF CHURCH WITHIN THEIR SECTOR. ARCH-
BISHOP WOULD BE EXCLUDED FROM ROLE IN FEDERAL GOVERNMENT,
DENKTASH SAID, ADDING THAT MAKARIOS WOULD LIKE IT.
"HE'S TIRED. SO AM I."

(E) SECURITY: PRINCIPLES OF FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT, SETTLE-
MENT AND PROPERTY WILL BE DISCUSSED IN LIGHT OF CONDITIONS
AND NEED FOR SECURITY. PRINCIPLES CONCEDED ARE ONE
THING, PRINCIPLES IMPLEMENTED ANOTHER. TIME WILL BE
NECESSARY. ONE SHOULD NOT AIM TOO HIGH OR ATTEMPT TOO
MUCH TOO QUICKLY IN VIEW OF PSYCHOLOGY OF THE (TURK CYPRIOT)
PEOPLE AND THE BITTER EXPERIENCES THEY HAVE BEEN THROUGH.

(F) GUARANTEES: WE CANNOT ACCEPT REPLACEMENT OF
NATIONAL (TURKISH) GUARANTEE. WE DID NOT DISCUSS THIS ISSUE,
HOWEVER, BECAUSE WE THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE A STUMBLING
BLOCK. WE AGREED TO SETTLE INTERNAL PROBLEMS FIRST
AND LEAVE QUESTION OF GUARANTEE UNTIL LAST.
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